THE WORKERS'

DREADNOUGHT

Socialism, Internationalism, Votes for All.

Vol. IV.—No. 24 SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 8th, 1917 Price One Penny

CO-OPERATION—AN IDYLL OF AN IRISH HAMLET

The First Store.

The hills of Donegal are renowned in song alike for their wild beauty and poetic grandeur. Travelling right across the country to the north-west of Donegal I felt that no picture could be given of the reality of this landscape, which, when the charm has been forgotten for a while must fill you with commiseration for the people who eke out an existence in these districts. Huge boulders of rock stand out for a moment against the sky and then a valley—not fertile as in the Alps—but still rocky with wide stretches of heather, under which turf, the chief fuel and wealth of the countryside, is concealed. Lakes are dotted all over and close to them the farmers' homesteads. Wretched hovels, consisting mostly of one apartment with one or two windows—those tiny four-paned ones which admit the light, but no air, for they are not made to open. The railways which connect this part of Ireland with the outer world are built through the mountains, between high walls of rock, magnificent and weird.

But what of Templecrone, and Dungloe, that seaside town nestling at the foot of the hills and looking out on the Isle of Arran? It is quite in the centre of that great anomaly: the Congested District. For one must ask how can a country suffering from depopulation be congested? History provides an answer, the conquerors drove the Irish into the western hills—the country there is unproductive, and though there is air and space unlimited the population is too numerous to be supported by the produce of the soil. The parish of Templecrone, which will be for ever famed for its co-operative effort, and is a part of Dungloe, is one of the poorest in Ireland; its population is 5,893—in 1891 the population was 6,302. To help to keep these people from going to the big towns and to Scotland to work as was customary, Patrick Gallagher and some others started a Co-operative Society in Dungloe in 1906—called the Templecrone Co-operative Agricultural Society. The first dealings were in fertilisers, for which there is great need owing to the poor soil. Up to this time enormous prices had to be paid for manures to the local "Gombeen" men, with the result that farmers relied more on the few pounds earned for harvesting in England or Scotland, or on the fishing season, than on the land for a living. "Paddy the Cope," as he came to be called—"Cope" being the local abbreviation for Co-operation, changed all that. He got into touch with the headquarters of the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society, founded by Sir Horace Plunkett, the present chairman of the Irish Convention and furthered and expounded by that rare Irish genius, Mr. George Russell (A.E.) In Dungloe the difficulties in the path of Co-operation were, and are, almost enough to deter a braver and more determined man than "Paddy the Cope." There was no rival to the "Gombeen" man until the movement started. He had reigned supreme and managed to have practically every farmer in debt to him; he took their eggs or potatoes in exchange for goods or gave them credit until the farmer or his family brought home money from Scotland or elsewhere, and then as seventy-five per cent. of the farmers are illiterate it was an easy matter to make the debt just something more than the farmer could pay. By this method the "Gombeeners" had all the countryside in their power. Patrick Gallagher himself was hired out to work at the early age of nine for three pounds a year, to help to pay off the exorbitant charges of the "Gombeen" man, which vary from fifty to one hundred per cent. This system, or curse it ought to be called, kept the people in ignorance as well as poverty.

To-day, the little one-roomed cabin, the Co-op. Store of 1906, has been replaced by a decent-sized building in the principal street of Dungloe. There all the necessaries of life may be procured, Irish manufacture and produce being given a preference. Everything is sold at the lowest possible price, much to the chagrin of the "Gombeeners," who are forced to compete. At the outset they did all they could to kill the enterprise. As an instance, I may quote their tactics in the egg trade. Eggs had hitherto been exchanged for goods, "truck" being an easy way of making money out of people so remote from the big towns that the market prices were unknown to them. The Co-operative Society paid ready-money for eggs and packed and sent them free of charge to the city. The "Gombeeners" combined to regain possession of the egg trade and paid twopence more than the Co-operators; but the demand for eggs was so intensified, and accordingly the prices so high, that they were obliged to desist and acknowledge themselves beaten. When I was in Dungloe in August, Mr. Gallagher told me that 74,810 dozen eggs had been bought from the people of the district, from January to July, 1917, at a loss to the Society of 2s. per hundred.

How is it done? Why was the turnover of the Templecrone Co-operative Society in 1916 £40,000?—it was only £490 in 1906—well, in reality the solution lies in the great business faculties of the manager, Patrick Gallagher, who, as already mentioned, was hired out as a wage-earner at nine years old, and later worked in a Scotch colliery for ten years. In writing of him, "A.E." says: "He is a man of business of the type which is not infrequently born on an Irish bog and ends its days as an American millionaire, with this difference, that 'Paddy the Cope' works for others and not for himself. . . ." It was not enough to buy the eggs and other produce, to help the farmers to till their land, the girls must be given employment to keep them at home, so this genius of the mountain-side started a knitting factory, taught himself all about the machines, so that no mechanic is required. There are about one hundred and fifty girls employed to-day in this factory which specialises in gloves, under conditions which must make them envied by their less fortunate sisters in the manufacturing towns. They work from 8 a.m. to 5 p.m., and have time off when they like.

"I want to see the girls at work," I said to Mr. Gallagher, and he took us to the factory at the edge of the sea; sea-breezes unpolluted by the smuts of factory towns, blow through the work-rooms. Rosy-faced girls were in the packing department and in the machine room. Here an overseer checks the girls' work; she was once on a machine herself, so knows the ropes. "It is not hard work," she told me, "and when they are tired of standing they can sit—it is a matter of choice, some prefer to stand at their work." Mr. Gallagher asked a little girl of sixteen—who was not a very efficient worker as yet—to tell me her earnings. "I get 18s. a week usually," she said. Another proudly told me how she never earned less than £2; whilst the star worker has earned as much as £3 7s. 6d. in one week! "Once they know the machines," Mr. Gallagher explained, "it is all a matter of the speed of the individual movements—here are three sisters who never earn less than £6 a week between them." "But what do they do with all that money in Dungloe?" I exclaimed. He looked sad for a moment and then answered: "You have heard of the "Gombeen" men? Many of these girls must give their earnings to pay them off. Then, the homes were poorly furnished and they help to improve them. If there is any surplus money they invest it in the Society," he added proudly. And he told me of the confidence the country people showed by putting their savings in the enterprise. "The greatest pleasure I experienced in that way," he said, "was when a farmer, who would not trust his savings to any bank, brought me along a hundred sovereigns recently. They were that black that I was not sure that they were gold! I was quite touched by such a proof of our success. *We* could be relied on but not a bank!!"

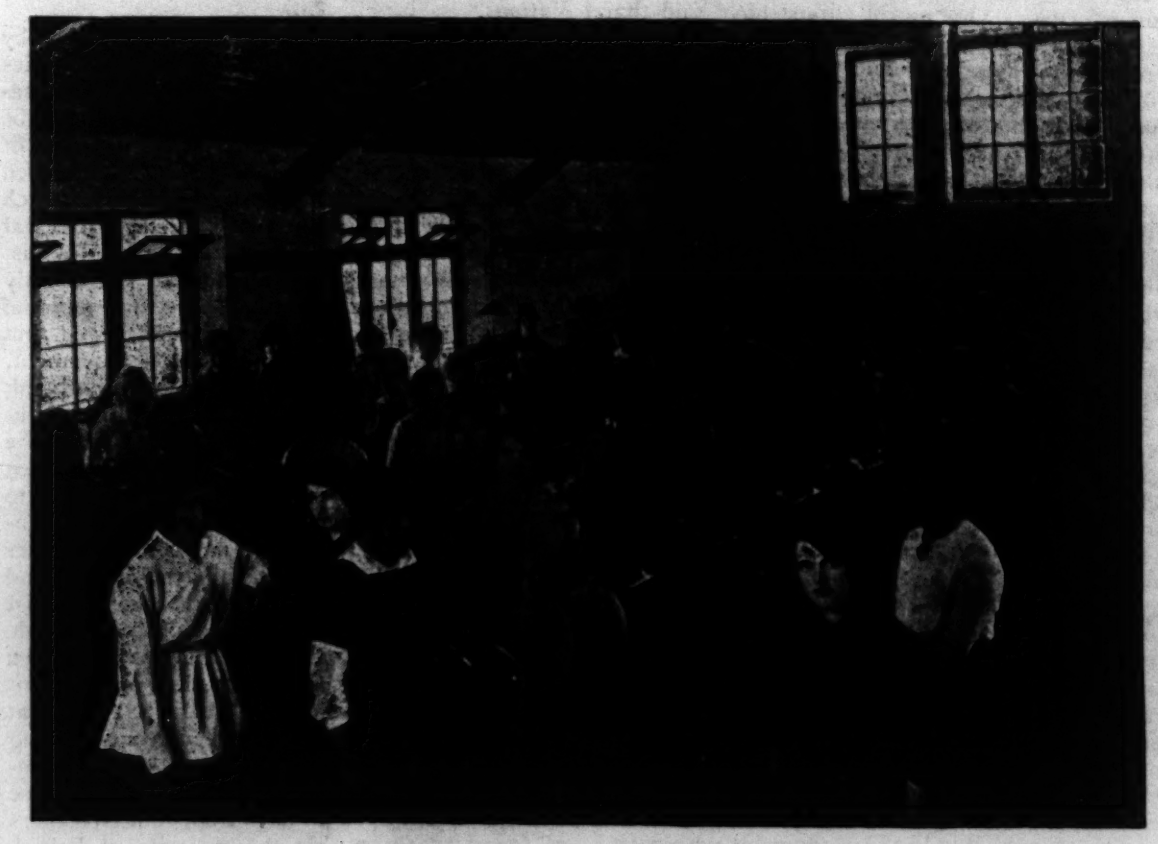
Orders come pouring in for gloves from all the big centres, one for £5,000 worth of goods just came when I was there. Contracts are also carried out for the Army, and the Belgian Army is being kept in gloves by the Templecrone Knitting Factory.

"Paddy the Cope," the manager and founder of this source of well-being for the countryside, is now a man of forty-seven. Simple and enthusiastic; his thoughts are ever busy with ideas for making life in Ireland more attractive. In a place where yearly rents are 25s., and considering that some Irish farm labourers I know of get 4s. a week and their food—wages of £1 a week and upwards are princely, and if the surplus money made in the factory were divided up the girls would get much more. "We sell our goods in many cases under cost price to our members on account of the profits made in the factory. It is better than sharing them amongst the girls," Mr. Gallagher said. Surely his is the true spirit of co-operation! Ireland would be the richer for more men of his type, in fact they are needed the world over.

MAY O'CALLAGHAN.

Of Special Interest This Week!

STOCKHOLM SHELVED
Inter-Allied Conference
ABDULLA STRIKE



TEMPLECRONE KNITTING FACTORY

"DREADNOUGHT" RAIDED.

The "DREADNOUGHT" of August 25th, with Mr. Herbert Cole's excellent cartoon, displeased Mr. Richard Glover, who wrote to the "Morning Post" demanding its suppression. As though in reply to his letter we were visited by two detectives on Wednesday (5th,) who were empowered by the "Competent Military Authority" to take possession of that issue. All were sold out excepting our reserve of 100 copies for binding. The detectives also visited our printer and took possession of the block. We must congratulate Mr. Cole on the truth and realism of his art!

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

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STOCKHOLM SHELVED

The Trade Union Congress at Blackpool opened with words of peace. The Mayor, in his welcome, called on the delegates to endeavour by the power of working class combination to bring this War to a speedy end, and to strive so that when the Congress meets next year Peace will have come. One of the local Trade Unionists, who joined in the welcome, hoped that peace is near and uttered a warning against establishing Militarism in this country, another said "I shall be content with nothing less than the total disarmament of all the nations," these expressions were greeted with cheers. The President of the Congress, Mr. J. Hill of the Boiler Makers Union, struck the note of militant working class independence. He hoped it had dawned on the movement that something more was required than resolutions to obtain reforms. One might almost have said that he had taken sides with the insurgents who have formed the Workers' and Soldiers' Council or with the shop stewards' movement. He protested that whilst the workers have been drilled by bureaucrats from Whitehall, whilst trade union rules and customs have been set aside, "he in our ranks to-day who is neither a Government Official nor a member of some Government Committee is unknown to the movement." Whilst a rank and file movement has threatened to bring industry to a standstill, Trade Union officials are distrusted by the workers because, though "as leaders we were appointed to lay down the hammer and the trowel, and stand on the ramparts to warn our members of danger, in their opinion we have either fallen asleep or sold their birthright for a mess of pottage." He declared that capitalists and financiers know no national boundaries; both in peace and War they exploit the cheapest and most docile workers and buy the stocks that yield the highest dividends. To meet the capitalists and financiers the workers of the world must establish a complete understanding between themselves. The War aims of the Allied Governments were said to be the destruction of German militarism and the substitution of German democracy; the effort to accomplish this by fighting has caused the deaths of nine million men, democracy was more likely to be brought about by the industrial leaders of all lands; it was the common men in those countries who gave democracy to France, America and Russia. A hundred democrats are killed in War for every autocrat; War is the negation of democracy whether we win or lose. "The denial of the right of Allied democracy to meet the common peoples of all countries for the propagation and establishment of a world democracy is contrary to the declared views of the Allied Governments"

How strangely our countrymen seem to expend their energy and enthusiasm in speeches, not seeming to realise the emptiness of words unbacked by deeds! These were brave words, and the Conference met them with rounds of applause. The reporters of the jingo capitalist Press spoke ruefully as they read the speech, which was handed round before its delivery. "What do you make of it?" one asked another. "All the fight has gone out of them," was the answer; "it means Stockholm." As the delegates filed out, one heard them saying that the best friends of democracy are those who are working for a Conference to prepare the way for peace.

THE STOCKHOLM PARTY WITHDRAWS.

On the morning of the second day's Conference Robert Smillie laid before the delegates the report of the Executive on Stockholm. He introduced it as a compromise made by "men who do not like to compromise," but who had agreed to this course for fear that the Labour movement might be rent in twain. It is the commonest plea by which men and women are induced to abandon the firm stand for principle. The Internationalists might justly have reflected that the Labour movement is too sturdy and deep-rooted to be easily destroyed, and that, whilst a marked cleavage has existed in the Labour movement since the outbreak of War, the fact that the International standpoint has been constantly maintained has been a source of fruitful strength to the movement.

Regretfully we say that the compromise on the Stockholm Conference appears to us a serious defeat for the Internationalists. It has not altogether shut the door against an international workers' conference, for, indeed, nothing could do that. Such a conference is bound to come; the only question is whether it will come soon enough to hasten the ending of the War and to influence the peace settlement. There can be no doubt that the Blackpool compromise is a setback to Internationalism. The Labour Party Conferences on August 10th and 21st declared for going to Stockholm, and now the Trade Union Congress has adopted a report which says:—

"We have come to the conclusion that a Conference at Stockholm at the present moment could not be successful."

The reason given for this conclusion is that at the Inter-Allied Socialist-Labour Conference great divergences of opinion appeared, and that no unanimous agreement could be arrived at, either as to whether an international conference should be held, or on the general War aims of the Allies. Having declared thus far against going to Stockholm, the report throws a sop to Smillie and the Internationalists by saying:—

"An International Labour and Socialist Conference would be of the greatest service, and is a necessary preliminary to the conclusion of a lasting and democratic peace."

But the value of this admission is immediately destroyed by the stipulation, which for the present appears impossible of attainment, that the Trade Union Congress shall only participate on condition that:

(1) *General agreement of aim shall be secured amongst the working classes of the Allied Nations.*

It is further insisted that "voting shall be by nationalities, sectional bodies within nationalities being governed by the majority of that nationality, or, alternatively, that each section should be given voting powers according to the number of persons actually represented." This is intended to prevent the Socialist organisations which have preserved the spirit of the International from expressing their views. In regard to this, Smillie, whilst admitting that these numerically small organisations have kept the International alive, so far as Britain is concerned, urged that now the great British Trade Union movement, which has hitherto ignored the International, should take its proper place amongst the working-class movements of the world, and the British Socialist organisations should be content to have voting strength strictly according to their numbers. The weakness of such a contention is that the trade union movements of other nations are in the main definitely Socialist and definitely separated in politics from the capitalist parties. In this country the majority of trade unionists down to the mid-'nineties still cried "No politics" to those who preached independent Labour representation, and still declared that there was nothing inconsistent in a man being both a trade unionist and a Liberal or Conservative, and returning his employer to the House of Commons. Even to-day trade union leaders are found to assert that the majority of British trade unionists are not Socialists. Mr. Sexton said so at the last Special Labour Party Conference; Mr. Havelock Wilson said so at Blackpool. Mr. Hill, in his presidential address, said:

"The prejudice of trade unionists against politics has hitherto held us back. . . . Industry and politics never have been, and never can be, separated; but the men who have thought otherwise have stultified and strangled our efforts all these years."

In 1906, when the Labour Party first emerged as a force in Parliament, we thought hopefully that we should never again hear from any section of the workers the "No politics" cry. But in these weary years of War one has sometimes been tempted to wonder whether Keir Hardie's long fight for the independence of Labour may not all have to be fought over again. Until the British trade unions have become definitely Socialist, it would seem strange to gag the British Socialist bodies in the counsels of the Socialist International. When the British trade union movement becomes a Socialist movement, the I.L.P. and B.S.P. may no longer form a minority; in that case they could safely agree to representation according to numerical strength.

We deeply regret the decision to shelve the question of sending delegates to the International, because we believe that it is of urgent importance that the Minority parties which have not forgotten their Socialist-Internationalism should confer together, and because we believe that if anything can open the eyes of the Majorities, it is that they should be brought face to face and by listening to each other's speeches should learn that the majorities on both sides have adopted precisely the same position.

All Amendments or motions to refer back portions of the compromise report which shelved Stockholm were declared out of order. Congress was told that as the report was a compromise it must be accepted as it stood or rejected altogether. The ruling recalled the Speaker's Conference Compromise and the attitude which the Government has sometimes found it convenient to adopt—a bad precedent for the democracy to follow. Will Thorne (General Labourers' Union), who seconded the compromise resolution, adopted a milder tone than of old; but the Seamen's representatives spoke with the full strength of War time bitterness, and moved the rejection of the report. Havelock Wilson said: "You would throw on the Seamen the responsibility of refusing to carry those who would meet our murderers, we will never carry them." The War must go on, he insisted, till the Germans confessed that they had had enough. A little later Clynes was quoting similar words of the German Emperor, to prove the incorrigibly bellicose spirit of Germany! Henson, seconding Wilson's motion, spoke of the sinking of the Lusitania and of the women and children who were drowned. He said: "We can never meet the Germans in an International Conference again." A woman delegate ought to have replied to him: We listened earnestly for a woman's voice, but it did not come. Unfortunately the women delegates to congress are few, though their number is growing; there were sixteen this year out of 695. Moreover, as yet they do not take their due place in the discussions. Henson spoke with anger of the German seamen in the British internment camps, some of whom, he said, had been 20 or 30 years in British ships. We thought of their unfortunate British wives, who are despised as Enemy Aliens in their native land and left to exist on the very verge of starvation, and of the close warm affection maintained between the mass of these husbands and wives and children whom the War and the law have separated, and the sense of insult felt by the women when they are urged to claim divorce. In every country the same angry speeches baffle the Internationalists, who are striving to awaken an impartial judgment in the peoples outraged by the crimes which are the inevitable accompaniment of War.

From a large section of the delegates loud applause rang out in response to the Seamen's appeal for vengeance. The atmosphere was not that of the Labour Party Conference. The change was not due merely to the absence of the few I.L.P. and B.S.P. delegates; the absence of the delegates from local Labour Parties had probably a wider effect. Perhaps, too, the fall of Riga may have contributed its quota to the atmosphere. Till the mirage of victory is set aside, such happenings will have power to sway men's judgments. It was obvious that though Labour, as represented by that Conference, longed for peace, it was not yet free of the War-spell, which is compounded of fear and pride, the desire to be on the winning side and the anger stirred up by narratives of atrocities. But in spite of the Stockholm decision the War spirit is passing. The rebuke to Wilson by another seaman, who declared the refusal to carry delegates was a denial of democracy, showed this less plainly than Ben Tillett's appeal to Wilson to abandon this position. Tillett has been one of the most violent of the jingoes, but now he urged that not a man among them must prolong the War a second: it was too terrible. Clynes taunted Smillie with having asked for unity and mutual consideration to-day, though at the Labour Party Conference he had called Barnes a blackleg. He demanded apologies from those who were now praising Henderson for his resignation, but had previously vilified him as a Government tool. Robert Williams replied that the jingo section was not the only section which had been vilified.

But, indeed, what matters it who is vilified? The abuse that may be levelled in controversy at home does not kill or maim like the shells by which men are constantly assailed at the front. J. H. Thomas said that the Conference at Stockholm was for the moment inopportune, but that the voice of Labour must be heard in the peace settlement. Others spoke to the same effect. Only one speaker—J. Bromley, of the Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, who logically supported the motion to reject the compromise report—faced the position squarely. He said that the workers in this fight were like two poor dogs who had been set at each others' throats and were ignorant of the issues. If the trade

(Continued on page 848.)

THE INTER-ALLIED SOCIALIST CONFERENCE

It has been reported in the Press that the Inter-Allied Socialist Conference was a "fizzle"; that it was nothing but a Socialist "Babel," and that it has demonstrated how futile the International Socialist Conference at Stockholm would prove were it able to meet.

The Inter-Allied Socialist Conference was not a "fizzle." There were, it is true, sections in the Conference, such as the French majority Socialists—now no longer representative of the majority of French Socialists—led by M. Pierre Renaudel and M. Albert Thomas—the French Minister of Munitions; the Belgian delegation, M. de Bronckere and M. Emile Vandervelde, and the small group from the National Socialist Party which really intended that the Conference should serve no useful purpose. In addition to these there were two individuals whose presence at the Conference as delegates requires accounting for—Miss Felicia R. Scratcherd, supposed to be representing Greece, and Col. Cresswell, one-time leader of the South African Labour Party, supposed to be representing South Africa—who ought also to be numbered amongst those who desired the Conference to be a failure. It is difficult to realise how a Greek delegate could be present in view of the fact that the Greek Socialist Party is non-existent; and Col. Cresswell could not represent South Africa because the Labour Party in that Colony is split in twain. These factions and individuals represented the pro-War element. The rest of the delegates—the Russian, French minority, Italian, Portuguese, I.L.P., B.S.P. and Labour Party—all evinced a desire for something to be accomplished towards ending the dreadful slaughter which is devastating Europe.

The first day's sitting of the Conference was chiefly wasted in a futile discussion on procedure. A Press Committee was appointed, as well as a Procedure Committee. The French majority delegates, particularly Renaudel, were the chief obstructionists.

Finally, towards the close of the sitting, two Commissions were appointed: the first to report on Stockholm; the second to report on War Aims.

The morning of the second day of the Conference was taken up by the Commissions. The following is the report, the last paragraph of which was afterwards slightly amended, of the first Commission, which was adopted by a large majority of the delegates, the French majority abstaining from voting:—

"The Conference, taking into consideration the following facts:—

1. That there are great political problems affecting the democracy which have been raised or brought into prominence by the War;
2. That no mere military victory or Peace arranged by secret diplomacy or by capitalist Governments can secure to the Peoples of Europe the justice and the liberty which are the conditions of International Goodwill;
3. That in every country the capitalist Press under the control of Government censors is misleading the people and is preventing them from understanding what are the motives and intentions of the belligerent nations; and finally
4. That the original War Aims put before the Allied Democracies, viz.: Liberation of Peoples from galling yokes and of Nations from oppressive Militarism—threaten to end in Conquest and Imperialism:

declares that it is necessary that the Democracies should be able to confer directly together so that the War Aims of the various Nations may be made clear, and the conditions of a Peace which will really end Militarism in Europe, be discussed;

The Conference therefore welcomes the invitation to the Stockholm Congress issued by the Soviet in accord with the Dutch-Scandinavian Committee, and supports particularly the provision that minorities as well as majorities ought to be represented in order that the Congress may be fully representative and therefore be in a position to judge the problems from every point of view.

Further, in view of the declarations of the Allied Governments that they have decided to refuse passports for the delegates to the Congress, this Conference enters its emphatic protest against such decisions and calls upon the Socialist and working-class organisations in the various nations to use every opportunity and power they possess, and in view of the circumstances can use, to secure an alteration in the decisions of the Governments."

The Report of the second Commission was presented to the Chairman of the Conference—Mr. Arthur Henderson—in the form of a number of declarations from the various sections, the delegates on the Commission failing to come to a general agreement.

The Conference agreed to the appointment of a Standing Committee—two representatives from each country—to keep in constant touch with the movement in the Allied countries and to make arrangements for a further Conference.

The Conference closed with the passing of a resolution, moved by H. M. Hyndman, congratulating the Russians on the Russian Revolution.

The Peace movement is growing rapidly in France and Italy, and the people of those countries will soon insist upon an end being put to the terrible slaughter.

The presence of French and Italian Socialists enabled us to obtain particulars as to the growth of the people's Peace movement in both countries.

THE SITUATION IN FRANCE.

The situation in France, said our comrade Pressmane, one of the members of the Socialist minority in the French Chamber, is tragic. The vast mass of the people are no more for war to the bitter end. If France was not invaded everyone would be for peace. Even the tradesmen are in a state of unrest. The press wields a tremendous power in France, but the expression of impartial opinion is impossible. The censorship is the most infamous of any country. No public meetings are permitted. Even in the Chamber those who talk peace are howled down. Yet Pressmane is convinced that if it could be guaranteed that Belgium would be restored and no indemnity demanded from France the whole French people would be in favour of peace.

THE SITUATION IN ITALY.

In the course of a very interesting discussion Emmanuele Modigliani, Socialist member of the Italian Parliament, said that the participation of Italy in the War was decided by a few intellectuals assisted by a number of capitalists. This small minority of the Italian people had hoped for a quick and victorious war. Owing to its prolongation the number of those who favour the war has been rapidly decreasing. The people are beginning to enquire into the foreign influence which dragged Italy into, and is keeping her in the War. The Italian workers never favoured the War, and even the unorganised workers are now expressing considerable opposition. Every demonstration against high food prices immediately turns into a demonstration against the War. This has been the case during the recent happenings in Turin and other places. The situation is tragic. There will be great difficulty this coming winter owing to shortage of corn and coal.

The particulars given by our French and Italian comrades should do much to encourage those who are striving for peace in this country. The people's Peace movement is growing everywhere. It cannot be held in leash much longer. In spite of all that is now being said the Governments will soon be compelled to grant passports. The International will meet, and will light the way for a new era for humanity.

TOM QUELCH.

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY

PRESIDENT WILSON'S REPLY TO THE POPE.

The American reply to the Pope's Peace Note appears to us to make only one definite statement, namely—that America is not yet prepared to make peace. It says:—

"We cannot take the word of the present rulers of Germany as a guarantee of anything that is to endure, unless explicitly supported by such conclusive evidence of the will of the German people themselves as the other peoples of the world would be justified in accepting."

It also says:—

"Punitive damages, the dismemberment of Empires, the establishment of selfish and exclusive economic leagues we deem . . . no proper basis for a peace of any kind."

What do these statements mean? The Reichstag Peace resolution and the promise that the Reichstag should be consulted in the reply to the Pope's Note evidently do not satisfy the American Government, though the American Government has not thought it necessary to consult its own Parliament before framing its own reply. Does the American Government mean that it cannot make peace with Germany until Germany is a Republic, and the conduct of German foreign policy both in Peace and War is placed in the hands of the German people or their elected representatives?

Can the American Government assure the world that the Allies are agreed on this point?

Obviously the Governments of the Allies are disqualified from making such an agreement by the fact that they have yet to put their own houses in order in this respect, and are not yet convinced of the wisdom and righteousness of the democratic principle. Can the American Government assure us that if the German people democratise their Government the Allies will refrain from demanding punitive damages or from seizing for themselves territorial or economic advantages?

If and when the Allied Governments are prepared to give such an assurance and to stand by it, they should publish it on the house-tops. It would make interesting reading for the peoples of the Allies as well as for those of the Central Empires. Such statements as the American Reply to the Pope can only be regarded as attempts to throw dust into the eyes of the people unless the Government putting the statement is prepared to act upon it and to refuse assistance in prosecuting an annexation policy.

E. D. MOREL v. EDITH CAVELL.

Mr. Morel, who has been proceeded against under the Defence of the Realm Act, and sentenced to a term of six months imprisonment, has done more than any other single individual to let in the light of truth upon both sides of the War problem. He is blamed because, having been forbidden to send the publications of the U.D.C. out of the country, he yet endeavoured to do so. Edith Cavell was allowed by the German authorities to nurse the soldiers captured by the Germans from the Allied Armies. But Edith Cavell thought it right that the prisoners should escape away into freedom to fight again for a cause in which she believed. She believed it her duty to contrive their escape, even though in doing so she must break the undertaking to obey the rules of their jailers which was, of course, implied in the permission to nurse them. So E. D. Morel has felt it right to aid truth to escape from the bondage of D.O.R.A. and the censorship. Had Mr. Morel agreed to place his industrious faculty for searching out and marshalling facts at the service of the Government, had he been willing to cast impartiality to the winds and to suppress and distort the truth, he would to-day have been no prisoner to D.O.R.A., but a Companion of (dis) Honour or a Knight of the Grand Cross. Edith Cavell strove to outwit authority for Nationalism; E. D. Morel has done so for Internationalism.

THE ABDULLA STRIKE.

One hundred men and five hundred women are employed at Abdulla's Tobacco Factory. Packers get from 9s. to 17s. 6d. a week, working from 8 a.m. to 6 p.m. and 8 to 12 Saturdays. They are obliged to work two hours overtime, except Saturday. If more than five minutes' late in the morning they are shut out all day, and if they stay away on Saturday morning they lose a whole day's pay. Their wages have not been raised since the War except by bonus of 4s. a week, for which they have to work two hours overtime on five days a week. If a girl leaves at six o'clock 1s. 7d. is deducted for the two hours. A woman who has an hour off each week to get her money from the post office, has 1s. 10d. a week deducted from her pay for that hour. A girl paid 15s. a week before the War left and on returning a few months ago was offered 14s. On refusing she was given 15s., and when she afterwards asked for a rise she got an extra 1s. a week. One girl aged 23 years is getting 12s. a week. The workers say that when on two occasions the firm presented cigarettes to the troops the employees had to work overtime without pay. Piece workers are paid 2s. 6d. per 1,000 for round cigarettes, with an increase of 6d. per 1,000 just obtained, 3s. 6d., 4s., and 4s. 6d. per 1,000 for flat ones. The average rates for such work at other firms are 4s. per 1,000 for round cigarettes and 5s. to 6s. 6d. for flat ones. The demands of the Cigarette Makers' Union are as follows:—

(1) All packers, cutters, labellers, and strippers employed by the firm in the said occupations, with six months' experience, to receive £1 a week for a 9-hour day. All overtime to be paid at the rate of 7d. per hour.

(2) Cigarette makers to receive 4s. per 1,000 for round cigarettes and 5s. for flat ones. A uniform rate of pay for all work.

(3) That employees be allowed to come in up to 8.30 a.m., and in the event of absence for the morning, they be allowed to resume in the afternoon.

(4) That the language used by the foreman to the employees be free from obscenity.

(5) That there shall be no victimisation in the event of employees joining a Trade Union.

(6) That employees shall not be compelled to do work of a gratuitous nature.

(7) That the employees shall not be arbitrarily dismissed.

Our good wishes go out to the workers in their struggle for better conditions.

FEDERATION NOTES

PEACE PICKETS.

We shall resume our Peace Pickets in a week or so and will be glad if all those who wish to take part will send in their names. These pickets have awakened great interest and sympathy and many fresh people have offered to join us.

BIG PUSH.

On Saturday we held a very successful meeting in Islington. We were told that Mr. Richard Glover, of Tariff Reform-Anti-Socialist-Anti-German fame had been taking a great interest in our propaganda, but he does not study our programme carefully. He and his friends were at Highbury Corner while we were making converts and selling papers at Caledonian Rd. One woman, who at the beginning of the meeting was demanding revenge for a son killed in the war, was so impressed by the speeches that she bought a "Dreadnought" and contributed to the

(Continued on page 848, col. 1.)

THE
WORKERS' SUFFRAGE FEDERATION

To secure a Vote for every Woman and Man of full age, and to win Social and Economic Freedom for the People on the basis of a Socialist Commonwealth.

Entrance Fee—1d.
Minimum Subscription—1d. a month.

Central Office: 400 Old Ford Road, London, E.3
Hon Secretary: Miss Sylvia Pankhurst.
Hon. Assistant Secretary: Mrs. Minnie Lansbury.
Hon. Treasurer: Mr. Edgar Lansbury.
Hon. Financial Secretary: Miss Norah Smyth.

Address Correspondence on:—
Meetings, to Mrs. Bouvier.
W.S.F. Branches, Miss P. Lynch.
"Dreadnought," Miss O'Callaghan.
Other Literature, Miss Bush.

The W.S.F. appeals for members and workers and invites friends to visit its offices and social institutions.

CENTRAL OFFICE: 400 Old Ford Road, London, E.3
THE MOTHERS' ARMS: 438 Old Ford Road, E.3

FEDERATION NOTES, (Continued from page 847.)

collection. A soldier thought the settlement of the war should be left to the men in the trenches. He was quite surprised to find that many pacifists thought it a good idea. To-morrow (Sunday) we shall be at Poplar. Friends are asked to support us at Piggott Street 3 p.m. Dock Gates, 7 p.m.

BRANCHES.

On Monday, Sept. 3rd., a very successful meeting was held at the Co-operative Hall, Seven Sisters Rd. to form a branch in the Finsbury Park District. Twelve new members were made and these in addition to those members who belonged to the Federation should form a good branch. Mr Cave was elected Secretary pro tem, Mr. Hawkins assistant Secretary. The next branch meeting will be held on Monday Sept. 17th, 7.30 p.m. at Co-operative Hall, 144 Seven Sisters Rd.

The Bow club and dancing class will not be held on the 7th and 14th Sept. We will start again on Sept. 21st.

FEDERATION OUTING.

Don't forget to buy your tickets for the outing to Golders Green on Sunday Sept. 23rd in good time. Tickets 1s. 6d. (including tea and fare from Liverpool St.) Children 9d.

OUR FUNDS

Donations to be sent to the Hon. Treasurer, Mr. Edgar Lansbury, or to the Hon. Financial Secretary, Miss N. L. Smyth, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.3
All parcels to 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.3

GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED

GENERAL FUND.—Irene, per Mrs. Drake (weekly), £1; A. J. Marriott, Esq., 12s. 6d.; Mrs. E. Green, 4s.; per Nurse Hebbes, 2s. 6d.; Anon, per Miss Beamish, 1s. COLLECTIONS: Mrs. Walker (Nottingham), 16s. 3d.; Osborn Street and Woolwich, 2s. 10d.

PEACE CAMPAIGN.—"Straight from the Trenches," 5s.; Mr. and Mrs. Warburton, 5s.; Mrs. H. Skidd, 2s. 6d.

"DREADNOUGHT" FUND.—Mrs. Arncliffe Sennett, £5; Miss Lynch, £3; Mrs. Muggeridge, £2 2s.; Miss Seruya, £1 10s.; Miss D. Jewson, £1; Mrs. McCracken, 10s. 6d.; E. Graham Johnson, Esq., 10s.; J. M. Morton, Esq., 5s.; Miss M. D. Fox, 5s.; J. de Gruyter, Esq., 5s.; Miss Hoy, 4s.; Mrs. Holloway (Libel), 2s. 10d.; Miss Sadie Jerome, 2s. 6d.; Miss V. M. Bland, 2s. 6d.; James Robertson, Esq., 2s. 6d.; David Halliday, Esq., 2s.; Mrs. Richmond (fortnightly), 2s.; Mrs. Brimley (weekly), 1s.; Miss N. Cohen (weekly), 1s.; Miss R. Cohen (weekly), 1s.; Miss Heiser (weekly), 1s.; Miss O'Callaghan (weekly), 1s.; Miss S. Pankhurst (weekly), 1s.; Miss Ethel M. Davis, 6d.

BABIES AND GENERAL DISTRESS.—Anon, £5; Miss A. L. Bolton, £2; Mrs. R. A. B. Preston, £1 1s.; Mrs. Thurburn, £1; Contessa Tomasi Isolani (monthly), £1; Mrs. Richmond (fortnightly), 10s.; Bromley Sale of Clothes, 8s. 5d.; Miss Iris Parsons, 5s.; Mrs. A. R. H. Atkinson, 5s.; Miss Barter, 5s. COLLECTIONS: Miss Ethel Lawrence, 10s.; Eagle Scouts, 2s. 7d.

VEGETABLES AND FRUIT.—Mrs. Trent, Mr. Thurgood.

WHAT'S ON?

W.S.F. FIXTURES

OUTDOOR

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 7th.
Highbury Corner, 7.30 p.m.
SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 9th.
Osborn Street, 11.30 a.m., Mr. Hogben.
"The Flagstaff," Hampstead Heath, 11.30 a.m., Mrs. Walker.
Hyde Park, 6 p.m., Mrs. Drake.
The Square, Woolwich, 7 p.m., Mrs. Cressall.
Meetings 3 p.m. and 7 p.m., The "Great Push."
FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 14th.
Highbury Corner, 7.30 p.m., Mrs. Cressall.
SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 15th.
Meetings, 3 p.m. and 7 p.m., The "Great Push."

INDOOR

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 10th.
53 St. Leonard's Street, 2.30 p.m., Mrs. Cressall.
TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 11th.
I.W.W. Hall, 76 Whitechapel Road, 8.30 p.m., Miss Rinder.
THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 13th.
St. Stephen's Shop, 85 Hoxton Street, 8.30 p.m., Mrs. Scurr.

HOXTON SOCIAL.

Social and Dance will be held at St. Stephen's Shop, 85 Hoxton Street, on Thursday, September 20th from 8 to 11 p.m. Music and refreshments. Speech by Miss Sylvia Pankhurst. Tickets 4d. (including tax).

Contributions still urgently needed for our Jumble Sale. Please send parcels to Hon. Sec., 85 Hoxton Street, N.1. Gratefully acknowledged from Mrs. Cole.

POPLAR FOOD CONTROL COMMITTEE.

Mrs. Cressall is representing the W.S.F. on the Poplar Food Control Committee.

LEEDS

LEEDS.—Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Hunter, 7 Sugdenfold, Armley. Branch meeting, Clarion Café, Tuesdays, 8 p.m. DREADNOUGHTS sold, 104.

BULWELL.

Mrs. Walker, one of our Poplar members, has been carrying on an energetic campaign in Bulwell, where she made many members and a good branch has been started. Hon. Sec.: Mr. Lane, 17 Pilkington Street, Bulwell, Notts. Meetings will be held every Sunday evening, 7.30 p.m., the Market Place.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS

KINGSLEY HALL, BOW.—On September 9th, at 8.15 p.m., V. Doris Lester will speak.

WALTER LANE SCHOOLS, N.U.R. Meeting Sept. 7th, Mrs. Drake will speak on "Adult Suffrage."

EAST END WORKERS' CHOIR.

Join the East End Workers' Choir. Rehearsals every Thursday at 8 o'clock **sharp,** at 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.3. Director and conductor, Mr. Harold Cooper. All communications to be sent to Mrs. Hercbergova, 45 Norman Raad, Bow, E.

MONDA SOCIALISMO.

Free Food, Law Love, Temple Truth, Sovran Self. Songs and Recitals by ALEXANDER HUNTER, 37 Collingwood Road, Coventry.—"Fine Voice." "Powerful Reciter."

JOIN OUR GREAT PUSH FOR
PEACE! SOCIALISM! VOTES FOR ALL!

ORGANISED BY THE WORKERS' SUFFRAGE FEDERATION, 400 OLD FORD ROAD, E.3

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 9th, POPLAR—Meet: 20 RAILWAY STREET, 2.45 p.m. (bus 15 or 25 from Bank to Chrisp Street).
Secretary for the day: MISS LAGSDING.
1st Meeting: PIGGOTT STREET 3 p.m. Mrs. BUTLER, Miss LYNCH, Mr. J. HANAGHAN and Mr. H. G. RUSSELL.
2nd Meeting: DOCK GATES 7 p.m. Mrs. BUTLER, Miss LYNCH, Mr. J. HANAGHAN and Ex-Inspector SYME.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 15th, CAMBERWELL—(Joint with Peace Crusaders). Meet: 85 CAMBERWELL GROVE, S.E, 2.45 p.m.
1st Meeting: WREN ROAD, CAMBERWELL GREEN (South Side), 3 p.m. Miss LYNCH and Mrs. NELLIE BEST.
2nd Meeting: TRIANGLE, RYE LANE, 7 p.m. Miss LYNCH, Mr. H. G. RUSSELL and Rev. R. W. SORENSEN.

FOREIGN NEWS

TRUCK-SYSTEM IN RUSSIA.

"Journal du Peuple," Aug. 25th:—

The peasants having refused to supply corn to towns Moscow has suggested the truck system. The citizens of Moscow are now exchanging manufactured goods for corn. This system has also been introduced into other parts of Russia. In Astrachan the fishermen exchange fish for corn with the inhabitants of Stavropol.

* * * *

The Radical Socialists and Radical Republicans will hold a congress in Paris to discuss: (1) the economic organisation of France after the War; (2) principal problems caused through the war.

* * * *

"La Victoire," Aug. 30th:—

Kerensky's revelations at the Moscow Assembly about the German attempts to secure a separate peace with Russia, rejected by Kerensky with indignation, caused great excitement in Berlin. "Vorwärts" declared that neither the press nor the people, nor the German Parliament knew anything about it, and demands an explanation from the Government as soon as possible.

PEACE.

"Berner Tagwacht," Aug. 24th:—

The "Avanti" reports about a big demonstration in Castel Bognese in favour of peace. The demonstration was made chiefly by women who want their husbands and relatives back from the front. The police interfered and a state of siege was declared in the village.

* * * *

The "Matin" reports that the Russian Ambassador in New York has declared that the Pope's peace-note is unacceptable for the Russian Government because the basis of the proposal is not in agreement with the democratic aims of the Russian people.

* * * *

One thousand houses have been burnt in Salonika. The "Petit Parisien" reports that the fire started in a shop and extended over the town owing to the indifference of the civilians and authorities. The misery of the people without shelter is terrible.

* * * *

Milk tickets have been introduced in Petrograd. Only children under three years are getting milk.

FINLAND.

The Finnish Parliament has passed bills establishing Adult Suffrage in Municipal elections, and an 8-hour working day. Hurry up Britain!

* * * *

"Journal du Peuple," Aug. 28th:—

Revolts are reported from Czech countries in industrial centres, where strikes have repeatedly taken place. In August a strike of 25,000 workers belonging to 40 factories took place, and the strikers only started work when the Government promised to improve their conditions.

A general strike broke out in Finland. A delegation, headed by the vice-president of the Senate, tendered a resolution to the Governor General demanding the immediate acknowledgment of the Act of the Finnish Parliament, which asks the Russian Government not to interfere in matters decided by the Finnish Parliament.

* * * *

A soldier has been elected Mayor of Cronstadt.

POLAND.

Poland appears to be in revolt. The Poles are not satisfied with a sham independence offered by the Governments of the Central Powers to induce Polish men to fight in their armies.

* * * *

"La Victoire," Aug. 30:—

Twenty-one nationalities have been invited by the Russian Government to the Moscow Congress. All except the Finns and Ukrainians have responded. The number of representatives of each nation was from three to eight. The Jews being one of the strongest organised nationalities in Russia, had eight delegates.

ELECTRIC MACHINE BAKERY
91 BURDETT ROAD, MILE END
W. WOODS & SONS, *Family Bakers*

STOCKHOLM SHELVED—Continued from page 846.

union movement were strong enough to get the passports eventually, was it not strong enough to get the passports now? If International Labour did not now make up its mind to hold an International Conference, its decision might come too late; to wait for unanimity would be to wait for ever; it were folly to wait until everything had been arranged by international capital—but delegates scarcely listened; they were walking about and talking amongst themselves.

Everyone knew that the Stockholm proposal was killed for the time being; its principal backers had agreed to its being shelved. But the door is open still, and, though our hesitations, unreadiness and lack of courage and faith may cost us dearly, the future is with Internationalism: sooner or later it will prevail.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS

FAMILY LIMITATION DOCTRINE. Post free, 1½d.—Malthusian League, Queen Anne's Chambers, Westminster.

SUFFRAGE WORKERS should spend their holidays at "Sea View," Victoria Road, Brighton. Hostess, Miss Turner.

SOUTHEND: Apartments or Bed-Sitting Room, near bandstand, pier.—C., 1 Grange Gardens, Southend.

SOUTHEND: Furnished Apartments, 8 minutes from sea and train; a Furnished House conveniently situated.—Apply "400" this Office.

TO LET—HALL for meetings, etc., holds 60. Terms moderate.—Apply Miss Beamish, St. Stephen's Shop, 85, Hoxton Street, N.

TYPEWRITING REQUIRED at home; M.S.S. and Plays; Duplicating accurately done. Terms on application.—Apply Miss A. O. Beamish, 85 Hoxton Street.

WANTED, FINISHER, must be good on needlework.—Apply Toy Factory, 45 Norman Road, Bow, E.

WANTED, at once, **LADY-HELP,** where Cook and Gardener kept; good salary.—Apply "Woodthorpe," Stonebridge Park, N.W.10.

GOOD HOME WANTED for war duration, boy 3 years, father interned German.

BASKET, CANE AND CHAIR MAKERS WANTED, men and women; Trade Union rate; no difference in sex in payment.—Apply R.V., Basket and Cane Work, John Knox Street, Glasgow.

BOW and BROMLEY I.L.P.

First of Series of Four Meetings
at
BOW BATHS
Sunday Evenings for the People

GEORGE LANSBURY
will speak September 9th, 8 p.m.

W. C. ANDERSON M.P.
September 16th, 8 p.m.

ADMISSION FREE - - - MUSICAL PROGRAM

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